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SANDORSKI & SUTCLIFFE

AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

MINISTERIAL

LIFE and ACTIONS

OF A CELEBRATED

FAVOURITE.

Magna eſt Veritas et prevalabit.

A Quack Doctor's Motto, in the Old-Bailey.

LONDON,

Printed for J. PRIDDEN, in Fleet Street.

MDCCLXVI.

76.7

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TO

JOHN WILKES, Esq;

SIR,

THOUGH you and I have ſupported different opinions in our politics, nevertheleſs I have ſuch a reſpect for your good ſenſe, and ſuch a deference for your ſincerity, that I could not ſuffer the following ſheets, in vindication of the celebrated Favourite, to make their appearance in the world without bearing a candid teſtimony to your merit, and lamenting that a man who has ſo generouſly ſtood up in defence of his country, ſhould receive no marks of his country's affection, but an unmeaning admiration, that will

neither

neither add a couple of horſes to his chariot, nor treat him with a bottle of burgundy at the tavern.

I HAVE no doubt, however, but what you are abundantly ſatisfied in the conſciouſneſs of having acted like an upright citizen, and an honeſt man. — A real patriot will always be inflexible in the performance of that duty which he owes his country, let his country be never ſo remiſs in the diſcharge of thoſe obligations which ſhe owes to him ; — and even where he is moſt diſtreſſed on her account, he will rather feel at her want of ſenſibility than repine at his own misfortunes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the acknowledgments which I have here honeſtly made in your favour, I muſt, nevertheleſs, always imagine that in your political ſtrictures, you required infinitely too much at the hands of my illuſtrious patron ; judging, perhaps, from the attachment which you yourſelf entertained for the public good, you expected that every other boſom ſhould glow with

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with the ſame exalted ſentiments which burned in your own. — By the rectitude of themſelves, the worthy moſt commonly judge of other people; and this is a criterion, which, though it does the higheſt honour to their generoſity, is, nevertheleſs, but too liable to lead them into a number of miſtakes.

In this way of thinking you were, however, particularly countenanced by a nobleman of a caſt ſo uncommonly antiquated as to prefer the intereſt of his country to every other conſideration. This great perſonage, notwithſtanding all the ſarcaſms, which a diſappointed wit, and all the calumnies which a rancorous malevolence continually darted to render him either ridiculous in his principles, or ſuſpected in his integrity, has gone on with an undeviating inflexibility, in the ſervice of his country; and eagerly embraced every opportunity of extending the liberties of the kingdom, though he himſelf was frequently expoſed to the moſt infamous inſults from the

licentiouſneſs

licentiouſneſs of the very people whoſe happineſs he took ſo generous a trouble to ſupport. — Where you had a friend of ſuch a turn, my good Mr. WILKES, whoſe advice you preferred to the opinion of all mankind, it is no wonder that you carried matters to ſo patriotic an exceſs.—On the contrary, however, I may be concerned for the conſequence of your temerity, I ſhould be ſurprized if you had been leſs bold where the good of your country was at ſtake; the man, who can argue with a philoſophic tranquility, where the intereſt of his country is materially endangered, may, be a wiſer man, perhaps, than he who proceeds to a raſh exclamation; but nevertheleſs I would rather poſſeſs a ſingle ſcruple of the latter's benevolence, than be maſter of all the former's underſtanding; if his behaviour is culpable, his fault is ſuch a one as does honour to human nature, and infinitely exceeds every reputation which can poſſibly be borrowed from an inglorious adherence to the languid dictates of prudence and diſcretion.

WHENEVER

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WHENEVER the exigencies of the kingdom, therefore, require the exertion of your abilities, ungratefully as it has behaved, it is a duty incumbent on ſuch a character as yours, to ſtand up in it's defence. — In the noble Lord, I juſt now mentioned, you are always confident of meeting a moſt powerful aſſiſtant; — his fine ſenſe, and his unremitting fortitude, to ſay nothing of his connexions or his fortune, will be of the utmoſt conſequence in any debate of a national concern, and give ſuch an energy to argument as muſt ſtrike an immediate conviction into the very dulleſt member of the community.

I SHALL treſpaſs no longer upon your leiſure, Mr. WILKES, than juſt to mention that in this age, however the public may admire the name of patriotiſm, there is infinitely more of the idea to be met with, than the reality. — You muſt not now expect to find the Britiſh populace like the Greek and Roman, compoſed of men ready to die for the good of their country. — You will

will find numbers ready to eat and drink for the general welfare; but few who are willing to go to any farther extremities.—Be not, therefore, ſolicitous to give them a more exalted ſtate of freedom than they are able to poſſeſs; take care of their beef and pudding, and you do every thing;—ſince by aiming to give them liberties for which they have no reliſh, you may poſſibly deprive them of the only advantages which they are at preſent capable to enjoy.

I am, Sir, with great Devotion,

Your very humble Servant.

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AN APOLOGY

FOR THE

Miniſterial LIFE and ACTIONS

OF A

CELEBRATED FAVOURITE.

AN ironical mode of writing is ſo much the taſte of the preſent age, that the author of the following ſheets labours under no apprehenſion but a fear of being thought a betrayer of the very cauſe which he profeſſes to ſupport, and an idea that he may be looked upon as a concealed enemy, who artfully attacks the character of an illuſtrious nobleman in the ſpecious guiſe of a friend. Theſe probably will be the

opinions of ignorant zeal, or under-bred prejudice; the candid and the ſenſible, however, will doubtleſs do juſtice to the writer's intention; and ſee at a firſt glance with how laudable a view he has preſumed upon this occaſion, to treſpaſs on the leiſure of the public.

The firſt charge brought againſt the celebrated Favourite, is the arrogance of his ambition in aſpiring upon the death of his late majeſty to the moſt important offices of government, notwithſtanding thoſe offices were then filled by perſons of the moſt unqueſtionable honour and abilities; and notwithſtanding he himſelf from the undeviating obſcurity of his former life, could not be looked upon as converſant, in the leaſt, with the weighty buſineſs of a great kingdom. — The reader will recollect that this little pamphlet is principally intended as an *apology*, and not deſigned as a *defence*; it is chiefly meant to *extenuate*, and not to *juſtify*; therefore, if I bring but a tolerable excuſe for my patron it is all that I ſhall endeavour; and, I am ſure, it is all that he will expect. I uſe the word *patron* on purpoſe to be beforehand with the formidable army of political freebooters; who are conſtantly employed in attacking every writer who differs in the leaſt from their ſentiments; and perpetually buſied

in

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in repreſenting him as the venal inſtrument of corruption; the infamous pandar of proſtituted power, and the execrable paricide who plunges a dagger into the boſom of his country.

THE people who ſo loudly condemn the great Favourite, on account of his ambitious riſe to office on the death of the late ſovereign, ſeem to require a rectitude of behaviour from him, which they will not take upon them to affirm has ever exiſted in any other man. — They ſeem to think, that his lordſhip ſhould have been deaf to the united charms of opulence and power; and argue as if he was a total ſtranger to thoſe deſires which he muſt be inevitably ſuppoſed to ſhare in common with the reſt of mankind. — A ſmall examination, however, into human nature, will eaſily convince the diſpaſſionate enquirer that the beſt men have their infirmities. — Why is the noble lord in queſtion then ſo ſeverely cenſured for *not* being, what it was impoſſible for him to *be*; and why was it expected that he ſhould be, "*The faultleſs monſter which the world ne'er ſaw*;" ſince perfection was never yet allowed to be the portion of humanity; and ſince thoſe who affect to be thought the criterions of rectitude are ſo univerſally treated with deriſion and contempt?

 I GRANT,

I GRANT, indeed, that nothing could be more unfortunate for this country than the great Favourite's exaltation to power, and I heartily wiſh that he had condeſcended to remain in his primeval ſtate of philoſophical inactivity, where, to uſe the expreſſion of a modern writer, he learned

" To drawl out being on a dead repoſe :"

but ſince the caſe has been unhappily otherwiſe, it is my duty to aſſign the beſt motives I poſſibly can for his conduct, in hopes that the good-nature of the world may be inclined to over-look the means which he made uſe of out of a candid conſideration for his end.

IN the firſt place then I ſhall take upon me to ſuppoſe, that a real regard for the public welfare was the original motive which induced the Favourite to aſpire at the high office of prime miniſter. — If this be once granted, his lordſhip, from an object of our deteſtation, muſt be looked upon as an object of our concern ; and the uprightneſs of his motive obliges us to mention him with an affectionate pity, where he is now ſpoken of with a malevolent diſrepect. — It is not his fault if he wants talents ; it is not his fault to be deficient

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ficient in ſpirit, or poor in underſtanding — theſe, if they are faults, are the faults of nature; and muſt be lamented as his misfortune, inſtead of being reſented as his crime. — Of courſe, therefore, both our gratitude as Britons and our candour as men, are engaged, to venerate the goodneſs of his deſign; ſince, for the honour of our marine be it remembered, the ſea-ſervice is the only one in this country where a perſon is doomed to ſuffer for the errors of humanity, and where it is death, by the laws of the land, for the miſerable officer to labour under the leaſt imperfection of intellectual abilities.

But let us give malevolence it's moſt unlimited ſcope, and even ſuppoſe that it was not the public intereſt which firſt of all induced my right honourable patron to become a miniſter; but that, on the contrary, he had ſenſe enough to ſee his own incapacity, and was ſtimulated merely by the *auri ſacra fames*, to take upon him the principal office in government; ſtill human nature comes in moſt fortunately to relieve us both; and ſupplies me with an argument at the ſame time that ſhe furniſhes him with an excuſe; the great Favourite is not the only perſon whom avarice and ambition have plunged into a variety of errors, and who

who have built the welfare of their poſterity upon the ruin of their country. — If we look over the Engliſh hiſtory we ſhall find no inconſiderable part of our nobility at this moment, the deſcendants of men who notoriouſly roſe upon the plunder of the public; and eſtabliſhed an illuſtrious family by actions which, if canvaſed before twelve good and lawful men at the bar of the Old-Bailey, would, in all probability, have obliged the ſeveral perpetrators to take a very diſagreeable tour to the neighbourhood of Paddington. — In fact the generality of miniſters, whether we confine ourſelves to Great Britain, or take a ſurvey of other countries, will keep the celebrated Favourite ſo ſtrongly in countenance, that compariſon will turn out infinitely more to the advantage, than to the prejudice, of his character. — Here then we ſee nothing in his conduct which we had not every reaſon in the world to expect from any other perſon who might be exalted to the ſame pinnacle of preferment. — It is ſeldom that people are elevated to great heights without becoming giddy with their own conſequence; and ſeldom that they have an opportunity of accumulating great riches, but what they embrace it with avidity: — thoſe only know their own fortitude who have reſiſted powerful temptations. — In the calm un-

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aſpiring moment of philoſophical languor, we are all of us ready to condemn the man who abuſes the dignity of his office by treating others with inſolence; or ſacrifices the benefit of his country to the purpoſes of his own emolument. — Yet let the moſt diſintereſted of us all be tempted with the treaſurers ſtaff and made in a manner the executive king of a mighty empire, and then ſee how long we ſhall be able to preſerve either the humility of our manners, or the integrity of our hearts. For my own part, I flatter myſelf I have as much temper, and as much honeſty at preſent as ſome of my neighbours, who talk more loudly of both; nevertheleſs, I would not anſwer if I was puffed by the breath of majeſty into a premier miniſter, but what I ſhould ſpurn my betters with as much contempt as they were ſpurned by the Favourite; and provide for my relations and dependants, with the ſame unceaſing ſedulity which he manifeſted in providing for his. — The world would poſſibly rail, and all the tongues of ſlander be buſy with my reputation. — Still, however, there is no doubt but what vanity or avarice would tempt me to go on, till I had effectually anſwered all my various purpoſes: when theſe were effected, it would be an eaſy matter to become the idol of the Mob.

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The world is a good-natured world, and gives an ample ſhare of credit to the ſmalleſt ſign of amendment: we all know very well that during the many years a certain noble duke continued at the head of the treaſury; ſcarcely a day paſſed, but what the preſs brought ſome freſh inſtance of his negligence, ſome new proof of his corruption, or ſome additional argument of his incapacity; in ſhort, the whole kingdom condemned him with ſo unremiting an unanimity, that even ſcribblers were almoſt wanting to ſtand up in his defence. — This noble duke, however, is now one of our principal patriots, and is looked upon by at leaſt nine tenths of the people, as a ſaviour of his country: — yet, if we were to aſk what has occaſioned this univerſal change in his favour, nobody would anſwer that it proceeded from a ſingle merit of his own; or even aroſe from a ſeeming alteration of his principles.——The charm by which this wonder was worked, conſiſted intirely in being diſmiſſed from his employments: — though this was an event which the whole kingdom had ſo ardently deſired for a number of years, yet the moment it took place all was anarchy and confuſion. — The ſame preſſes which formerly repreſented him as bordering nearly on a ſtate of lunacy, now trumpeted forth his uncommon

wiſdom

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wiſdom and application; and the very ſame pens which formerly told us, he had beggared the Nation, now talked of the prodigious fortune which he had exhauſted in it's defence; in ſhort though it was notorious, he had prodigally waſted his fortune in carrying Elections to ſap the foundation of his Country, theſe ſums were all put down, to the public account, and even the S—— himſelf was mentioned with diſreſpect for diſcharging ſo old and faithful a ſervant, when that very diſcharge ſhould have procurd him the united bleſſings of his whole people.

When the public mind therefore is thus kindly, nay thus generouſly fluctuating, and when upon being barely turned out of place, the Demon of to-day is ſure of a deification to morrow, the public muſt look upon itſelf in ſome meaſure as an encourager of miniſteral weakneſs; ſince our ſcruple to be guilty of an error is generally proportioned to the expectation which we entertain of being pardoned for the offence; when therefore the readineſs of the Britiſh nation to forgive is joined to the numberleſs temptations which miniſters have to abuſe the confidence of their Sovereign, it is to be hoped if my patron is even to be condemned for any intentional miſtakes during his conti-

nuance in power, that the argument which I have already uſed concerning the infirmity of human Nature, added to the encouragement which our own tenderneſs to the miſconduct of other Stateſmen has afforded him, will be allowed no inconſiderable plea in his behalf.

But notwithſtanding I have been thus candid in acknowledging that the celebrated Favourite may have behaved with too great a ſhare of haughtineſs to many people infinitely greater than himſelf, and notwithſtanding I have admitted the poſſibility of his preferring the private intereſt of his own family on ſome occaſions to the public good of the Kingdom, there are nevertheleſs one or two parts of his conduct wherein he is not only excuſable but perhaps meritorious; and wherein though he has unfortunately laboured under the public diſapprobation he may poſſibly appear in a diſpaſſionate eye to have highly merited the moſt grateful acknowledgements of the people.

It is on all hands allowed that upon his lordſhips acceſſion to power this kingdom was engaged in a very dangerous and expenſive war; and it is alſo acknowledged on all hands that he embraced the firſt opportunity of procuring us

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us a peace; this peace indeed has not been thought very advantageous by many people, but thoſe who conſider the matter cooly will find it very honourable. In the firſt place it gave up every thing of value to our enemies — and of courſe though it leſſened the character of our prudence, it raiſed the reputation of our generoſity through all the countries of Europe; nothing ſurely could be more exalted than at the very moment we had reduced the French to the loweſt depth of wretchedneſs, and had it in our power effectually to deſtroy the moſt diſtant probability of their ever attacking us for the future, to reinſtate that perfidious nation in all her former poſſeſſions, and capacitate her again to renew thoſe dangerous deſigns which ſhe has for ſuch a number of centuries been concerting againſt the proſperity of this kingdom.

I AM well aware that ſome ſagacious politician may, in this place, think it a very extraordinary argument in defence of the celebrated Favourite, to ſay that he gave up all the valuable conqueſts, made during the late war, to our enemies, when at the ſame time he might have kept them entirely in his own hands; it will be ſaid, that by ſuch a conduct

he infamouſly betrayed the intereſt of his country; and poſſibly ſome hot headed caſuiſts may imagine it a ſufficient reaſon for calling him to a very ſevere account. — For my own part, I conſider matters in a very different light, and look upon an act of generoſity to be equally honourable in nations as in individuals, and do not, by any means, ſee how a people can think themſelves diſgraced by a behaviour which would be highly eſtimable in a private man. Suppoſe a private man, for inſtance, had a quarrel with a neighbour, and a challenge enſued in conſequence of their diſagreement, would it not be unpardonable if one of theſe parties had diſarmed the other, for the fortunate combatant to take away the life of his antagoniſt in ſuch a defenceleſs ſituation? Would not every man of candour cry out againſt the barbarity of the action, and immediately acknowledge the perpetrator a diſgrace both to honour and humanity? If yes, with what propriety can the great Favourite's peace be condemned? Had he proſecuted his blow after the French were diſarmed, the whole world muſt have ſhuddered with horror at the cruelty of his conduct; all the pretenſions which the people of England laid to the united virtues of generoſity and benevolence,

muſt

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muſt have been eradicated in an inſtant ; and all that we ſhould have reaped by ſo prodigious a ſacrifice, would have been the permanent eſtabliſhment of our national happineſs and underſtanding. — But what is happineſs, or what is underſtanding, when placed in the oppoſite balance to glory. — Highly to the reputation of this kingdom, we always prefer an illuſtrious diſtreſs, to an abject proſperity, — and nobly chooſe the name of honourable blockheads, before the paltry characteriſtics of a ſhrewd or a polite people. — In other countries let the ſervile purpoſes of intereſt be attended to ; in our's, let it be the firſt care to cultivate the ſhining virtues ; a pitiful adherence to reaſon and propriety may be proper enough for deſpotic governments ; — but in a free-born ſtate, an elevated vanity ſhould conſtantly preponderate, ſince the only certain method of aſſerting the liberty of our conſtitution is to act in all eſſential matters like madmen or fools.

THERE are numbers, however, notwithſtanding the reaſons here given in defence of the late peace, who take upon them to ſay, that the great Favourite, in concluding that meaſure was but little actuated by motives of generoſity : nay, they go ſo very far as to ſay he abſolutely

lutely patched up the definitive treaty of Fountainbleau, from an actual want of courage to carry on the war any longer, unhappily for their cauſe, this reflexion is as incredible as it is invidious, and muſt fall to the ground on the minuteſt conſideration : — for can it be ſuppoſed that the great Favourite was afraid of the French in their fallen ſituation, when he himſelf put arms, in a manner, into their hands, and enabled them, whenever they think proper to manifeſt their gratitude by a recommencement of hoſtilities. — As to the ſtill leſs honourable motives which the world have kindly ſigned for the late peace, thoſe are ſo eaſily refuted, that it is only neceſſary to ſay, the treaty of Fountainbleau has been concluded above three years, and the Favourite has not yet purchaſed above *half* of the county of Bedford.

But to give calumny the fulleſt ſcope ſhe can deſire, let us ſuppoſe that the celebrated Favourite ought to have acted upon the political ſyſtem laid down by his enemies ; and let us allow it for granted, that all the conqueſts which the late peace ſo judiciouſly gave up, ought by all means to have been retained for the

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the intereſt of this country : — yet do gentlemen conſider the conſequence of ſuch a meaſure ? I am afraid they do not ; led on by the vehemence of paſſion and prejudice, they turn away from the ſober ſentiments of reaſon, and make the crudeſt of their own imaginations the invariable criterion of judgment and perfection. — Suppoſe then we had concluded ſuch a peace as theſe gentlemen ſay my Patron ought to have concluded, I ſubmit it to themſelves, if theſe would not have been the inevitable conſequences. — In the firſt place, the power of Great Britain would have been fixed upon a footing ſo firm, and ſo extenſive, as muſt render her, in the common nature of things, the ſovereign arbitreſs of the European world. — In ſuch a caſe her ſituation had been dreadful ! — Without an enemy to contend with, what would become of that manly free-born ſpirit which has induced us ſo often to make a ſacrifice of forty or fifty thouſand brave citizens upon the altars of our vanity or caprice ? Rendered totally effeminate on the downy pillow of idleneſs and diſſipation, we had been loſt in an inglorious round of felicity, and never met with a foreign inſult, or a domeſtic faction, to break in upon our tranquility, or to diſturb our repoſe : — whereas now we are fortunately kept in conſtant exerciſe. —

The

The weight of taxes with which we are ſo happily loaded, preſerves an inceſſant ſpirit of induſtry, and ſtretches our invention upon an eternal rack to find freſh reſources for the neceſſities of government. — By this means we every day improve in the arts and ſciences, — and make a number of diſcoveries, which render us at once the envy and the admiration of the univerſe: — indeed to ſuch a pitch of excellence have we brought ſome diſcoveries, that our labouring mechanics have already found a method of living without food or raiment; and what is to the full as extraordinary, the nation has found out a method of talking about their ſufferings without ever being touched with their diſtreſs. — Beſides this, if we think of the numberleſs families who immediately depend upon our ſea ſervice and our land ſervice, we ſhall find freſh occaſions of wondering at the great Favourite's wiſdom, in preſerving the poſſibility of frequent ruptures with the different ſtates of Europe. — Had he concluded a different peace, the brave tars of Old England muſt have ſneaked into pitiful huſbandmen and porters; and reſigned the pay of their conſcientious country, when there were no more *free born* ſubjects to be forcibly dragged on board a tender from their wretched little families. — The nobility would have wanted commiſſions for

their

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their various paraſites and pandars. — The miniſtry would have wanted commiſſaryſhips, and other lucrative offices, for their reputable liſt of dependants; and even the republic of letters itſelf muſt have ſuffered ſeverely; when contention was once ended, literature muſt have felt a moſt ſenſible wound; the learning of this country is principally political, and in this every man thinks himſelf ſo perfectly verſed, that we all take upon us to deliver our ſentiments for the good of the public; hence in fact the meaneſt member of the community is a Machiavel, and hence the preſs ſcarcely brings forth any thing, but *honeſt mens reaſons*; *letters to noble lords*, and *adreſſes to the good people of England.*

FORMERLY we uſed to be peſtered with the idle compoſitions of genius and taſte; and entirely buſied in diſcuſſions which could never procure us a ſingle ſhilling, or have the leaſt tendency to eſtabliſh our intereſt as a people. — In thoſe days the ſtudy of the conſtitution was ſo totally neglected, that a firſt miniſter was obliged to trouble the parliament about every thing — and the nation was reduced to a neceſſity of depending ſolely upon the wiſdom and integrity of it's repreſentatives: — whereas, at this fortunate period, there is not a citizen,

within the bills of mortality, but what is capable of filling the firſt offices in government, — the verieſt drudge, who now wears a leathern apron, can tell how far a ſecretary of ſtate's power ought to extend; and expatiate on the illegality of General Warrants with the perſpicuty of a *Camden*. — The liberty of diſcuſſing the principles of Magna Charta is no longer confined to the limits of St. Stephen's. — On the contrary the neighbourhood of St. Giles's now poſſeſſes a right of debating on the formation of our laws, and is ſo well inſtructed in the buſineſs of the ſtate, that it is utterly impoſſible for a bad miniſter to paſs any injurious law without being immediately liable to detection.

The knowledge which the meaneſt members of the community thus happily poſſeſs, in relation to every thing which has a concern with the intereſt of their Country, is doubtleſs a very great bleſſing, and muſt be aknowledged to proceed from the numberleſs publications of a political nature, which have received theirbirth from the conduct of the celedrated Favourite. — Of courſe, therefore, the celebrated Favourite's adminiſtration has been highly ſerviceable to the kingdom, ſince it has taught us how far the invaluable libery of our conſtitution is able

able to protect our properties and our perſons. — Made politicians of the whole Engliſh rabble and raiſed the truly reſpectable common council of London to a pitch of reputation, which excites the united wonder and applauſe of the whole univerſe.

But now that I am talking about the preſent ſtate of literature in this country, it may not be improper to take notice of an accuſation, frequently laid to the great Favourite's charge, which is, that notwithſtanding his affectation of paſſing for the Mecænas of the age, he has nevertheleſs given no encouragement whatſoever to letters, but left the intereſt of the muſes like the intereſt of the public a miſerable victim to the barbarity of their enemies. — For my own part I ſhould imagine that what I have juſt now offered relative, to the circulation of uſeful knowledge in this kingdom, would be ſufficient to ſupport my patron againſt a cenſure of ſuch ſeverity; I was in hopes that the prodigious progreſs which the general body of the people has made in all the various branches of a learning, which can either be conducive to the defence or the encreaſe of their property, would have been able to eſtabliſh the celebrated Favourite's pretenſion, to the title of a Mecænas, ſo effectually, as to ſecure his literary character, however he might have failed in his

political reputation.—But I ſee where the world has once imbibed prejudices, every action of a man's life is ſeen through a falſe medium and even the moſt meritorious circumſtances, inſtead of procuring him the univerſal eſteem, are liable to be turned into obloquy and reproach.

To vindicate my patron, however, againſt this ſcandulous accuſation, I ſhall obſerve in the firſt place, that more new writers have ſtarted up ſince his acceſſion to power, than were ever known to riſe in this country, for any one century, ſince our exiſtance as a people — I do not indeed ſay that he has immediately rewarded the whole number out of his own pocket, but this I will be bold enough to affirm, that had it not been for him, the greateſt part, by much, would have wanted purchaſers — ſo that in fact, though he never had beſtowed a ſixpence on any one of the herd, yet, as they owed the ſale of their various works intirely to the influence of his name, they ought to thank him for the profits of their ſeveral publications; and candidly confeſs how much they ſtand indebted to him both for food and reputation — But unhappily gratitude is a virtue for which the republic of letters is no way remarkable, on the contrary, at the very moment that a whole myriad of writers

were

were fatning on the adminiſtration of the celebrated Favourite, they were all employed in villifying his name, and inceſſantly credulous to deſtroy him in the good opinion not only of his Sovereign, but in the confidence of every man who profeſſed the leaſt attachment for the intereſt of the kingdom. — No wonder therefore if they treated him in ſuch a manner, at ſuch a time, that they ſhould now endeavour to repreſent him as an enemy to literature. — Of all the fiends which delight in ſullying the fame of the worthy, ingratitude is the moſt indefatigable. — To varniſh over the blackneſs of her own conduct, ſhe is under an everlaſting neceſſity of forging the errors or the vices which ſhe wiſhes to find; and habitually ſteeled both againſt the ſenſe of conviction and the feelings of humanity; her infamy becomes her glory, and ſhe audaciouſly wears the glow of triumph on her cheek, in proportion as ſhe ought to ſicken with terror and remorſe.

But not to reſt the defence of my illuſtrious patron merely upon the negative benefits, if I may ſo call them, which he has heaped upon the *Gens Vatum*, I ſhall take the liberty of mentioning one Gentleman in particular, who, among many others, has been notoriouſly known

to

to drink at the immediate fountain of the Favourite's liberality.——This gentleman holds a diſtinguiſhed forum in the republic of letters, and is no leſs a man than the celebrated Mr. ARTHUR MURPHY.——'Tis almoſt an inſult when I mention his name, to ſay a word about his abilities; but leſt this pamphlet ſhould unhappily fall into any hand that has not yet heard of this admirable writer, I think it better to treſpaſs upon the patience of the public, than ſuffer even an individual to labour under ſo dreadful a miſinformation.—Mr. MURPHY, therefore, is a gentleman, who has tranſlated ſeveral plays from the French with ſuch ſucceſs as to ſurpriſe the whole world; and has written ſo exquiſite a treatiſe upon the advantages of Florida Peat, as muſt convey his name down with an inconceivable eclat to the lateſt poſterity.

WHEN the celebrated Favourite has taken notice of ſo great a genius as this gentleman, need we either doubt his knowledge of literary excellence, or queſtion his inclination to reward it?—But if all that I have here urged to prove his ſolicitude for the encouragement of learning ſhould be thought too little, let me remind his enemies of the many writers, to whom penſions have been granted, without a dawn of merit at all,— witneſs the author of AGIS,

and

and the ſcribler of a certain letter to the people of England.—Theſe gentlemen, with many others, who have been liberally provided for by the great Favourite, were evidently without a dawn of genius, or an atom of abilities : — but ſuch was his love of letters, that the merely belonging to a profeſſion, which both of them notoriouſly diſgraced, was ſo ſtrong a recommendation to his protection, that he even allowed his own underſtandng to be impeached, rather than ſuffer them to ſtruggle with that load of obſcurity and contempt, under which they were placed by the unanimous concurrence of every ſenſible man in the kingdom.—When theſe things are ſo perfectly known, I am aſtoniſhed how any body can condemn my illuſtrious patron for the ſmalleſt want of munificence.—To the conſideration of the candid I ſubmit them, and flatter myſelf, that in the opinion of the diſpaſſionate, they will be deemed a ſufficient exculpation, however, the pragmatical noſtril of ſelf-ſufficience, may be turned up with contempt, or however the inſignificant dart of a diſappointed envy may be thrown from the repining quiver of an impotent revenge.

To be ſure it may be objected, in this place, that the great Favourite, inſtead of providing

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almoſt entirely for men of no abilities, ſhould have always directed his attention to ſuch as were men of unqueſtionable talents, and like the doctors JOHNSON and SMOLLET could do honour to his Protection. The world, his enemies will ſay, was by no means deſtitute of proper people.—GOLDSMITH, for inſtance, who wrote the celebrated *Traveller*, and FRANKLIN, who gave us ſo admirable a tranſlation of *Sophocles*, will probably be held up as proofs of neglected excellence, and I muſt own with no little appearance of reaſon ; but when it is recollected that my illuſtrious patron has perfectly eſtabliſhed the reputation of his taſte by his diſtinction of JOHNSON and SMOLLET ; and when it is alſo known, that ſuch maſterly writers as GOLDSMITH and FRANKLIN are always certain of the warmeſt encouragement from the world, I hope the preference which the Favourite has ſo generally ſhewn to the blockheads, whom the public have always thrown out to poverty and contempt, will be rather ſet down to the benevolence of his heart than the weakneſs of his underſtanding.

HAVING thus, I flatter myſelf, extenuated if not juſtified, the conduct of the celebrated Favourite, both with regard to the concluſion of the late peace, and the general prepoſſeſſion which he has manifeſted for diſreputable writers,

I now

I now proceed to take notice of another charge, which has been uſed againſt him with all the rancour of a moſt little minded malevolence, and credited as a crime with all the implicit eaſineſs of a moſt ridiculous belief. — This charge is, that he has conſtantly raiſed the people of Scotland to honours and emoluments, by ſacrificing the pretenſions of every deſerving Engliſhman, and caſting him out to penury or contempt, though he had merited never ſo highly both the bounty and the admiration of his country. — That a much greater number of Scotch gentlemen have received honours and emoluments, ſince the commencement of the celebrated Favourite's influence, than what has been promoted from all the other parts of the Britiſh dominions put together, is a point which I am ſo far from an intention of denying, that I even rejoice at conſidering it to be an indiſputable fact; — but then at the time I make this acknowledgment, I muſt inſiſt upon being allowed one or two principles. — In the firſt place it muſt be granted, that the diſtreſſes of an extreme wretchedneſs are by far more eligible objects for the exerciſe of munificence, than the inſolent demands of an overbearing proſperity; and in the ſecond, it

muſt be admitted as an infinitely greater inſtance of policy, to convert the enemies of the government into friends, than to waſte the treaſure of the nation upon thoſe people of whoſe fidelity there could not be the poſſibility of a doubt. — If theſe principles are once granted, it muſt naturally follow, that my illuſtrious patron, in his prepoſſeſſion for the gentlemen of Scotland, acted perfectly conſiſtent, not only with the ſtricteſt rules of humanity, but with the ſtricteſt rules of prudence too. — Had he heaped favours upon the gentlemen of England, his bounty would have been miſapplied. — The people on this ſide the Tweed, are in general, perſons of conſiderable opulence, and there is ſcarce an individual but what has ſome connexion or other capable of puſhing him into life, without ſtooping to be the pandar of a miniſter. — The caſe with the gentlemen to the northward of the Tweed is widely different. — Deſtined by the unrelenting ſeverity of their fortune to one of the moſt miſerable corners of the univerſe, they have but few opportunities of raiſing eſtates for the eſtabliſhment of their families, and are under the diſagreeable neceſſity of embracing the minuteſt occaſions of improviug their circumſtances, let their occaſions

ſions be never ſo repugnant to the dictates of their reaſon, or the ſentiments of their pride. — Hence we ſee them voluntarily ſacrificing country and friends, to gain a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, from nations whom they look upon with contempt ; and find them every day burſting through all thoſe delicate links of nature which faſten a ſocial mind to the place of it's nativity, and inſpire a reciprocal union of ſouls, where there happens to be even but a diſtant union of families. From theſe motives they run in thouſands to form the armies of the United Provinces. — From theſe motives they form the Ruſſian troops into ſomething like a ſtate of diſcipline and courage ; and lead on the forces of our enemies to ranſack and plunder the territories of our friends. — A people therefore ſinking under ſo univerſal a weight of wretchedneſs, were undoubtedly much properer objects of munificence, than the people of a country who were riotting in an affluence that very often produced the moſt ridiculous exceſs ; where thouſands were prodigally laviſhed to ſee a ſet of ſharpers do miracles that never could be done ; where miniſterial fortunes ſhamefully ſquandered to puniſh cruelties that never were prac-

tiſed; and where even the revenues of the church were unpardonably proſtituted to diſcover the ghoſts of perſons who never exiſted.—To be ſure the old adage of "*Be juſt before you are generous*," may in this place be applied to the celebrated Favourite; and it may be ſaid that he ſhould have rewarded thoſe who had conferred real obligations on the public, before he relieved the neceſſities of thoſe who had never obliged the public at all; — This indeed is an unfortunate obſervation for my purpoſe. — But when it is conſidered that great men are often forced to ſtrike into ſome illuſtrious errors for the ſake of effecting an important end, I truſt that the natural weakneſs or good nature of the Engliſh reader will kindly ſtep into my aſſiſtance, and ſnatch me from a dilemma where it is impoſſible for me to be extricated by the exertionof his underſtanding: the judicious reader from my readineſs to make conceſſions will I flatter myelf entertain a juſt idea both of my cauſe and my candour, ſince thoſe are generally the moſt tenacious of their arguments who either have an indefenſible part to ſupport, or reaſon from intereſted ends. — I muſt however in this place reſume the topic of the Scottiſh poverty, though, at the concluſion of the laſt ſentence I thought

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to have entirely done with it. — But recollecting that ſome thing more may be ſaid in favour of my patron's predelection for his native country, I have choſen rather to be at the trouble of an apology, than let my printer ſee I ever make an eraſure, even in the moſt important of my productions. — Men of elevated genius ſhould always deliver themſelves with propriety; and as a correction of the looſeſt paſſage in any literary performance is the tacit acknowlegdement of an error, I would rather be tediouſly minute, than have it ſuppoſed I was ſubject to any of thoſe infirmities, which the ordinary claſs of writers experience, whenever they draw up their ſentiments for the inſpection of the public.

HAVING premiſed thus much; and having in my arguments about the poverty of Scotland proved that the celebrated Favourite in his prepoſſeſſion for the gentlemen of that kingdom, acted perfectly conſiſtent with the niceſt principles of humanity, I now come to ſhew that he proceeded alſo on the ſoundeſt principles of policy, and made his partiality of the moſt ſalutary tendency to this country. — It has been the received opinion of almoſt every individual on this ſide the Tweed, that the exceſſive

poverty

poverty of our more Northern fellow ſubjects, has been a principal occaſion of the many rebellious attempts which numbers of them have made againſt the rights of the Engliſh crown, and conſequently againſt the proſperity of England. — The diſtractions with which theſe attempts have filled us, are not yet entirely forgotten. — In ſpite of all the boaſted heroiſm ſo frequently in their Mouths, the free born ſons of Britain trembled at the approach of a few palty ragamuffins in the Year 1745. and by their timidity encouraged continual reinforcements to ſwell the original gang of vagabonds, who enliſted in the cauſe of a vagabond, no leſs wretched and deſpicable than the meaneſt of themſelves. — Need I repeat the conſternation of the whole kingdom when this miſerable crew came up ſo cloſe to the capital as Derby? — Need I mention how the exalted heirs of liberty and roaſt beef hung their melancholy heads; or tell in what manner the renowned city of London behaved in that hour of ridiculous diſtreſs, though her auguſt common-council have ſince that period, proved ſo formidable not only to the two houſes of parliament but even to the Sovereign himſelf? — When we call theſe circumſtances back to our recollection, muſt we not admire the profound

wiſdom

wiſdom of the celebrated Favourite, in attaching ſo deſperate a nation inſeperably to our intereſt, and in having, where we dreaded a moſt dangerous enemy, given us a moſt inflexible friend.

I REMEMBER extremely well, that, ſome few years ago, it was judged a very politic meaſure to beat up for volunteers in the moſt diſaffected parts of the highlands, and to honour ſeveral, who had actually fought the battles of the contemptible puppet, that figured away in the character of pretender, with commiſſions in the ſervice of this country. — The miniſter who adopted this ſyſtem was univerſally applauded by the public; and, if I miſtake not, there are at this moment ſome of our beſt troops in America who were actually formed upon his plan. — As this is the caſe, can any thing be more unjuſtifiable than to condemn the Scottiſh ſtateſman, for the very ſame conduct which procured the Engliſh one, ſo extraordinary a ſhare if popularity? If the meaſure was right in the one, muſt it not certainly be right in the other? unleſs, like the traveller, in the fable we have got a political ſort of breath which blows hot and cold at the ſame time; and can be ſuited to the various turns of our diſpoſition, however

ever oppoſite to reaſon or propriety. — Should any perſon exclaim that it is an inſult to the honour of this country to ſhower ſo many favours upon the gentlemen of Scotland, merely to purchaſe us a pitiful reſpite from their neceſſities, I anſwer "a living dog is better than a dead lion." — Experience has already convinced us, that notwithſtanding the number of pretty compliments, which we are ſo apt to beſtow on our national ſpirit, there is a poſſibility for an Engliſhman's trembling; even before the hour of danger is at hand. — We have in fact, upon many occaſions, exhibited a moſt rueful dejection of countenance, where there was but little occaſion to be afraid, and what has once happened may happen again; as therefore we are not altogether the ſet of heroes which we are ſo deſirous of being thought, I ſubmit it to the conſideration of every candid man if it is not much better to purchaſe a conſtant ſecurity, than be under the unceaſing apprehenſion of an additional diſgrace? Eſpecially too, where we not only procure an exemption of freſh injuries from the people, with whom we ſtrike this honourable bargain, but even ſecure their aſſiſtance if upon any unforeſeen event, we ſhould unfortunately ſuffer an attack from any body

body elſe?---What others may think of the matter, I kuow not, but, for my own part, I think Machiavel himſelf a bungler in politics, when mentioned with the celebrated Favourite.

NOTWITHSTANDING I have been ſo minute in this part of my patron's defence, yet I am ſtill apprehenſive that the propriety of paying tribute (if I may beg the term) will be thought inconſiſtent with the honour of the Engliſh reputation. Many who may ſerioufly approve of the meaſure, may poſſibly quarrel with the name, and perhaps diſallow the rectitude of the thing through a generous diſguſt to the appellation. — But ſurely thoſe who conſider that the people of England have for many years been paying tribute, in the moſt abject ſignification of the word, and that to a variety of nations, cannot in reaſon be ſurprized, when I call the obligations ſo liberally heaped on the gentleman of Scotland by that title.—During the courſe of the late glorious war, did not our patriotic miniſters pay a ſcandalous tribute to half the little paltry ſtates of Germany, merely to fight their own battles, and to ſtand up in defence of their own properties? To be ſure this tribute was varniſhed over with the palatable name of ſubſidy, and a thouſand

pens were inceſſantly employed to prove that what was the abſolute conſequence of our meaneſs, reſulted entirely from our generoſity.—But when it is apparent that the various ſtates to whom ſubſidies were granted, muſt in the nature of things have made an oppoſition to the common enemy, though we had never ſubſcribed a ſingle ſhilling, the world muſt agree, that our conduct proceeded from fear or from inſanity, and acknowledge that we were either utterly deſtitute of common ſpirit, or common underſtanding.

But why need I talk of German connexions, to ſhew with what puſillanimity the people of England purchaſe the friendſhip of the moſt deſpicable governments.—Their ſhame in this reſpect is not confined to Europe. —— The tawny ſhores of Africa bear an everlaſting teſtimony to their diſgrace; and the tribute which the lords of the ocean conſtantly ſend to the meaneſt neſt of pyrates on the coaſt of Barbary (for leave to paſs and repaſs that element, over which they claim ſo inſolent an authority, and on which they ſo haughtily require the homage of all the other European powers) is an invincible proof that they are willing to make the moſt ſervile conceſſions for the ſake of

of living in tranquility.——If then it has always been reckoned good policy to bribe the robbers of Barbary into friendſhip with us, why ſhould it be thought injudicious to buy the eſteem of a really brave people near home, who lying ſo immediately contiguous to us, have it at any time in their power to do us the moſt irreparable injury, before we can poſſibly be in readineſs to ſtand upon our defence? This queſtion is in my poor opinion unanſwerable, and it furniſhes me with ſo exalted an idea of the Favourite's extraordinary wiſdom, that I ſhould be almoſt tempted to ſuppoſe he poſſeſſed the gift of ſecond ſight, had not this wonderful faculty of divination been for ſome time out of faſhion, even the moſt credulous parts of his native country.

I HAVE now gone through the principal parts of the celebrated Favourite's defence, and there ſcarcely remain any thing farther to extenuate or juſtify, but his nomination of the miniſtry who ſucceeded him, the perſecution of the preſs, and the injurious laws which have been made in relation to the Colonies.--As to the firſt of theſe points, I am under a neceſſity of confeſſing that the ſet of Things who ſucceeded him under the name of Miniſters, were

as weak and as incapable of filling the various great employments which they poſſeſſed as any ſet of gentlemen in the kingdom.——But then though they were no way conſpicuous for their abilities, my illuſtrious patron might poſſibly promote them from the high opinion which he entertained of their virtues.—One of them was ſo ſolicitous for the ſolemn exerciſe of religious worſhip, that he publicly built a church ; and, what adds to the generoſity of the proceeding, built it entirely for the uſe of his poor neighbours, nobly diſdaining ever to be ſeen within the walls of it himſelf, for fear he might be ſuppoſed to come there merely out of a deſire to challenge the gratitude of the good congregation.——Another had the intereſt of morality ſo much very at heart, that he even informed againſt the friend of his boſom for making ſome illiberal attacks upon the cauſe of decency and virtue ; generouſly burſting thro' all the delicate ties of an ancient amity, the moment that amity in the leaſt interfered with the happineſs of his country.---And a third was of a temper ſo extremely benignant, that he never turned away from the voice of diſtreſs ; on the contrary, he even obtained an affluent penſion on the eſtabliſhment of a certain country, for

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an amiable lady that had parted rather abruptly from her huſband; tenderly forgetting the nature of her error in the day of her calamity; and applying every means in his power to mitigate whatever loſs ſhe might ſuſtain from ſo indiſcreet a behaviour.

When the celebrated Favourite ſaw virtues like theſe, it was but natural that they ſhould engage his eſteem; and ſuch is the benevolence of a generous mind, that where it once eſteems, it is apt to overlook a multitude of imperfections.---This, to be ſure, is a weakneſs of humanity, but it is a weakneſs which does human nature an unſpeakable honour, and out-ballances more in my opinion,

"*Than ten cold virtues in the other Scale,*"

To unfeeling minds I grant that this may ſeem a very trivial argument;---but let it be recollected, that I have never attempted to make a deity of my patron:---if therefore he erred in the choice of his ſucceſſors, he only did what all the world did before him; he only ſuffered his friendſhip to biaſs his judgment, and conſequently none can have a right to paſs any ſevere cenſure on his conduct in this reſpect,

ſpect, but thoſe who never ran into the ſelf-ſame miſtake.

As to the perſecution of the preſs, in a nation like this, whoſe exiſtence immediately depends upon a free and ſpirited circulation of public intelligence, I ſhall candidly acknowledge, that nothing could be more unjuſt than an attempt to puniſh a number of people merely for ſpeaking the honeſt ſentiments of truth, and ſetting forth the miſeries which his own adminiſtration had drawn upon this unfortunate country.——But at the ſame time that I make this confeſſion, I muſt aſk if any thing is more natural than for a man who finds himſelf wounded by the hand of an adverſary, to think of retaliating revenge with revenge.—— It is of no ſignification whatſoever, if the blow is even directed by the arm of juſtice.——— Where a perſon groans under the aſperity of a dangerous ſtroke, it is not the equity of the puniſhment which occupies his mind, but the pain which he ſuffers; and though he may be ſecretly convinced, that he has met with no more than his deſerts, yet he is fir'd with an involuntary indignation at the arm which preſumes to call him to any account.----To illuſtrate

trate this obſervation, let us ſuppoſe, that a man has injured me in the niceſt of all points, the honour of my family, and has taken ſome very criminal liberties either with my ſiſter or my wife.

Let us further ſuppoſe, that I ſeize the firſt occaſion of puniſhing this man, and draw upon him wherever I am furniſhed with the earlieſt opportunity.——It is certain, he has acted in a manner that merits no mercy from me; and it is certain, that in the eye of reaſon he deſerves to be inſtantly ſacrificed to the manes of my murdered reputation.——Yet would it not appear extraordinary to all the world, if through a conſciouſneſs of his crime, he bar'd his boſom to my ſword, and manifeſted an alacrity to gratify my vengeance, rather than an inclination to ſtand upon his own defence?——

I do not know whether I have been ſo fortunate in my illuſtration, as to convey the force of my laſt argument with a ſufficient peripicuity to the mind of the reader; but of this I am ſenſible, that had the celebrated Favourite ſubmitted in ſilence to all the attacks which were made upon him from the preſs, it would have appeared an indirect acknowledgment,

ledgment, that he himſelf was ſatisfied they were not without a pretty ſtrong foundation; and would have been a palpable reflexion moreover upon that rectitude of principle which I hope he always poſſeſſed, however, an unhappy combination of circumſtances may ſeem to impeach his integrity, as much as his underſtanding. ——As well therefore to retort the anxiety which he ſuffered from the preſs, as to convince the world, that he was ſtill actuated by the moſt laudable motives, it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary to take the ſevereſt meaſures with the wicked wits of the age, who proceeded to ſuch illiberal degrees both with his private and public character.——But, perhaps, he was in hope, that if he could once get one or two of theſe gentlemen legally puniſhed, it might be a means of preſerving his reputation, as ſuch a puniſhment muſt naturally ariſe from the injuſtice of their repreſentations.——If that was the caſe, the moſt virulent of his enemies muſt allow that his view was a very tempting one, and ſuch as could be ſcarcely reſiſted by any other man in the kingdom.——We all know to what a length the apprehended loſs of character is capable of driving a delicate mind.—— We all know, that many a highwayman, through fear of loſing

ſing the good opinion of the world, has endeavoured to conceal the crime of robbery with murder; and it is not above ſix months ſince an amiable young lady was publicly executed for endeavouring to ſcreen an accidental act of incontinence by the perpetration of a like barbarity.——Though I do not much approve either of theſe ſimilitudes, yet I am ſtrongly inclined to think that my right honourable Patron laboured under an equal predicament, and ſought to hide the numberleſs miſcarriages of his adminiſtration, by calling in the law to his aſſiſtance, and wreaking a judicial vengeance upon the heads of thoſe people by whom his adminiſtration was ſo publicly condemned.--- There are but few men, I believe, who would willingly acknowledge themſelves either weak or wicked; one error, therefore, like a lie, requires a greater to keep it concealed; and I fancy was the whole univerſe to be ranſacked, we ſhould not find an individual, but what would chooſe rather to be a fool or a raſcal in his own opinion, than to ſuffer the minuteſt injury in the opinion of any body elſe.

It muſt however be owned by the greateſt enemies of the celebrated Favourite, that the perſecution of the preſs was not attempted

while there was a poſſibility of ſilencing, or retorting the virulence of the patriotic writers, as they were emphatically ſtiled by any other means: though wounded to the very neart of his ſenſibility, and continually bleeding beneath the ſword of a popular indignation, he declined proceeding to extremities, till he had tried every other method of ſupporting himſelf againſt the inceſſant attacks of his enemies. —That I have advanced nothing on this occaſion beyond the limits of the moſt rigid veracity, I need only deſire my readers to recollect what a number of literary advocates the great Favourite ſet to work when he found himſelf vigorouſly preſſed by the friends of the kingdom.—We remember that the elaborate author of the AUDITOR at that time made his appearance as a politician, and obliged the world with a number of eſſays, ſo aſtoniſhingly profound, that to this very moment there has been no poſſibility whatſoever of underſtanding the leaſt of his arguments.——The BRITON alſo brandiſhed his grey gooſe quill in behalf of my illuſtrious patron; —and even the tragidy of ELVIRA was made a political vehicle to procure him a favourable opinion from the ſentimental part of the public.——When theſe things are notoriouſly ſo; and when beſides we know,

know that there was ſcarcely a common news paper but what contained as many things in his defence, as were inſerted to his prejudice, we muſt in equity allow, that his perſecution of the preſs did not take place before the moſt pungent neceſſity obliged him to ſomething more than a mere refutation of anonymous inveſtives, and intereſted accuſations.

HAVING thus far extenuated the great Favourit'es conduct in regard to his perſecution of the preſs, I have but another point to defend him in, and this I ſhall undertake with the greateſt readineſs, becauſe it is a circumſtance in which I am vain enough to think I ſhall not only be able to juſtify him, but even to prove, that it ought to give him the higheſt reputation imaginable with every candid individual of the public.

IT has been ſtrongly objected againſt the celebrated Favourite, that he has ſupported the propriety of enforcing the American Stamp Duty, and argued in favour of the various reſtrictions which of late have been laid on the commerce of the colonies. — His behaviour, on this occaſion, has been repreſented as irreparably injurious to the public welfare; and

the general opinion has been ſo vehemently pronounced againſt him, that even ſome have talked about impeachments, and imagined it an utter impoſſibility for him to eſcape the juſt indignation of the kingdom.——For my own part, I ſhall readily admit that the Stamp Duty, and the reſtrictive laws which have been of late impoſed on the colonies, are pregnant with a thouſand misfortunes, both to the people of America, and thoſe of the mother country ; — but, at the ſame time, it muſt be allowed, that thoſe misfortunes are infinitely more *imaginary* than *real* ; and affect our *pride*, conſiderably ſtronger than they ſtrike at our *happineſs*.—The late laws which have been made in regard to the American Colonies, it is true, muſt materially injure the commerce of the Britiſh nation, and deprive the inhabitants of one of the moſt capital ſprings from which they derived their opulence as a people--it muſt undoubtedly occaſion a prodigious decreaſe in their trade ;—Oblige their merchants to live without country-houſes, and reduce their inferior mechanics from a ſplendid equipage to the diſeagreeable neceſſity of trudging through the ſtreets in the winter ſeaſon, in an humble ſurtout.

But will any man of ſenſe take upon him to ſay that ſuch an alteration would he *really* prejudicial to the people either of the colonies or the mother country? Will any body preſume to ſay that the happineſs of life dwells entirely with riches, or be bold enough to inſiſt that wealth is the only eſſence of felicity? By no manner of means. — Every intelligent mind on the contrary knows, that there is not a greater enemy to peace than an affluence of circumſtances; 'tis this very affluence which ſo inceſſantly deſtroys the tranquility of individuals, and ſo univerſally corrupts the morals of ſociety——Were we to make but a ſhort enquiry into the origin of all evil, we ſhould probably diſcover that luxury was the primeval ſource of human depravity — As long as man contented himſelf with ſuch things only as were immediately neceſſary for his exiſtence, ſo long he preſerved his innocence, and retained his felicity; but the moment be ſought after ſuperfluities, and created an imaginary want, that moment, he not only ſacrificed his virtue, but his happineſs, and equally relinquiſhed his pretenſion to principle, and his claim to content.——

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In all ages and in all countries the wife and the virtuous have continually exclaimed againſt luxury, and both the philoſopher and the divine have conſtantly employed themſelves in preaching up temperance and frugality to the people:—A leſſon of this nature was never more neceſſary at any period than the preſent one, and never more requiſite in any country than in our own——We have lived to an æra when even the very canaille aſpire to the moſt luxurious diſſipations, and purſue the road to wealth with the moſt inflexible aſſiduity, not becauſe they want to raiſe their families and themſelves from a ſtate of contemptible obſcuty, but becauſe they want to riot in the ſame exceſſes which employ the whole attention of their more opulent neighbours——Indeed was the affluence either of individuals or nations, to be exerted for the attainment of any laudable ends, a reaſonable accuſation might be brought againſt the conduct of the celebrated Favourite, for ſacrificing the commerce of the colonies—but when unhappily on the contrary there is ſcarce an individual in the community, but looſes his little virtue in proportion as he encreaſes his fortune; and when every new acquiſition of national wealth ſo far from being rendered of the leaſt utility to the brave or the deſerving,

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is continually ſquandered upon the moſt worthleſs raſcals in the kingdom, it becomes the duty of every good citizen to occaſion as general a poverty as he is able, ſince as our vices are to be meaſured by the ſtandard of our opulence, it is but natural to ſuppoſe that the extremity of our indigence would be the criterion of our virtues.——

When we conſider the matter in this light, and ſee that both the temporal and future happineſs of the kingdom are infinitely more ſecure in a ſtate of penury than in a ſtate of opulence, we cannot but admire the wiſdom and philantropy of the celebrated Favourite, in the formation of ſuch excellent laws as muſt plunge us into the moſt inevitable diſtreſs.——

A Minister of leſs ſagacity or benevolence might poſſibly ſuppoſe, that thoſe ordinances which were moſt likely to make us rich were moſt likely to make us happy—he might poſſibly imagine, that it would be much to his credit if a common ſhopkeeper ſhould be able to vie in magnificence with a nobleman of the firſt rank; and think it a mighty proof of the national affluence to ſee half the labouring artizans in the kingdom, prodigally waſting

their

their time in a Skettle-ground—It was for the celebrated Favourite, however, to proceed upon a more exalted ſyſtem of politics; 'twas for him to ſtem the impetuous torrent of luxury which was threatening to over-whelm his unhappy country; and to riſe up in oppoſition to our vices, inſtead of being an indirect ſeducer of our virtues.——

THE attempt to be ſure was glorious, and hitherto it has been attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that I make no doubt whatſoever if my illuſtrious Patron's influence ſhould continue, but what in a few years we ſhall be reduced to the primeval ſimplicity of our immortal progenitor, and have little more than a fig-leaf to conceal the immediate difference of ſexes.—

I AM very well apprized that ſome ſhrewd commentator, upon reading this laſt argument, will obſerve that it might be urged with as much propriety in defence of the great Favourite's *entire* conduct, as reſerved for that part of his behavionr *only* which relates to the people of America.——

THE

SANGORSKI

THE remark muſt be allowed no leſs obvious than concluſive. — But let me however reply that we ſcriblers are a ſtrange race of mortals — we are always ambitious to ſay as much as poſſible upon every ſubject for two ſubſtantial reaſons, firſt becauſe it ſhews the greatneſs of our ingenuity, and ſecondly, becauſe it enhances our pamphlet a ſix-pence perhaps in the price—on theſe accounts therefore I flatter myſelf whatever prolixity may appear in the courſe of the foregoing ſheets, the reader will candidly overlook it—ſince I have ſhewn ſo much candour in acknowledging the the cauſe, and have anticipated the cenſure of the moſt virulent critic by taking this opportunity of cenſuring it myſelf.——

MY taſk every body muſt allow has been rather difficult——I have had the univerſal prejudice to combat with; and ſtood up in defence of a man who is at this inſtant labouring under the united execrations of a whole people. — How my Patron may reward me is uncertain—whither I may be made a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, or a commiſſioner of the bankrupts; a ſecretary's ſecretary, or an actual ſecretary of ſtate, I don't know; but of this

I am certain, that unleſs ſomething very handſome is done for me, the celebrated Favourite may write the next pamphlet for himſelf, as I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould take ſo much pains for the intereſt of any man, unleſs that man ſhews an equal ſolicitude for the eſtabliſhment of mine.

FINIS.

SANGOI